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Kazan Tatar

In 1552 Kazan was conquered by the Moscow State, and from this time on the Tatars have been under Russian rule. In 1920 they received autonomous status and formed the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, in which they comprise the majority of the population. Considerable numbers of them live also in the Bashkir A.S.S.R. and in the Molotov, Gorki, and Saratov districts of the R.S.F.S.R., as well as in Sinkiang.

Before the revolution the main economy of the Tatars was based on agriculture, but many individual Tatars were active traders, especially as middlemen for Russian firms in Turkic speaking areas, such as Russian and Chinese Inner Asia.

Tatar is a Turkic language and belongs to the northwestern group of this language family.

The Tatars are Sunni Mohammedans. They were converted to Islam in the tenth century. After the Russian conquest of the Volga region, attempts were made by Russian colonizers to convert them to Christianity by offering economic advantages to converts, but success was negligible.

The older Tatar literature represents a comparatively small body of primarily religious literature. In the second half of the nineteenth century a secular, rational, realistic, and increasingly nationalist trend made itself felt under the influence of Russian culture. In the twentieth century, Tatar literature — like Russian literature — has been strongly preoccupied with practical political questions, and the various literary schools have been political schools rather than aesthetic movements. Today the Tatars in the Soviet Union possess a flourishing literature, strongly influenced by Western forms. The complicated Arabic script which had been such a bar to the elimination of illiteracy was abandoned in favor of a Latinized script which, in the late thirties, was in turn replaced by a Cyrillic script.

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APPENDIX II Literature and Oral Art of the Uighurs, Kazakhs, and Kirghiz

174 THERE IS very little written literature in the Uighur language and almost all that remains comes from periods before the Mongol conquest. The earliest known documents relate to the period of the first Uighur campaign in Jungaria and are purely religious. Most of them are undated fragments and their approximate sequence can be deduced only from the historical sources which give some — though quite contradictory — information as to the religious development of the Uighurs after they moved south. It is known that after they appeared on the territory of present-day Sinkiang, in the eighth century, they were converted to Manichaeism by Soghdian missionaries. That Manichaeism was widespread among the early Uighurs in Sinkiang is confirmed by a number of religious documents, written in Uighur, propounding the Manichaean dogma and prayers.

174 538 779 The main Uighur Manichaean document is the *Khuastuanit*, a Manichaean prayer of penitence which according to Radlov surpasses in linguistic purity almost all other early Turkic documents.[1] The *Khuastuanit* is of great importance not only from the standpoint of linguistics, as an early document of the Uighur language, but also through its content, which is an aid to the understanding of Manichaeism. Since the prayer contains not only

[1] V. V. Radlov, *Chuastuanit, das Bussgebet der Manichäer*, St. Petersburg, 1909, p. iv.

[p. 240]

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the enumeration of the sins of the penitent but also the list of the dogmas of Manes against which he has sinned, it can serve today as a kind of catechism of this Western religion as seen by the Turks.

An important characteristic of these Manichaean documents is that they are written in a new script, hitherto unknown to the Turks, and radically different from that of the Orkhon inscriptions. This script was taken over by the Uighurs with the adoption of Manichaeism. It was originally a Western (Semitic) script, and subsequently played a considerable role in the cultural history of Asia, since it was adopted later by the Mongols, after their conquest of the Uighurs. With the Mongols it spread again to the West and was later adopted by the Manchus, with some modifications.[2] It became known as the "Uighur" script and was used by the Uighurs until they became Moslems, when it was displaced by the Arabic script.[3]

In the eleventh century two other cultural streams made themselves felt among the Uighurs, who by then were settled in the Tarim Basin. One, Nestorian Christianity, was from a Western source, as was Manichaeism, and the other, Buddhism, from a Southern source.[4] According to the eleventh century work on the Turkic languages by Mahmud Al Kashgari, the bulk of the Uighurs at that time still represented a dam against the further spread of Islam,[5] although some Islamic influence was already visible. The existence of Christianity among the Uighurs is testified to by a number of fragmentary texts, such as the "Adoration of the Magi."[6]

The prevalence of Buddhism is indicated by a number of fragments containing philosophical treatises dealing with Buddhist theology and fragments from the literature of the Lives of Bud-

[2] V. Bartold, *Zwoelf Vorlesungen ueber die Geschichte d. Tuerken Mittelasiens*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 50–52.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 132.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 58.
[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 132.
[6] F. W. K. Mueller, *"Uigurica," Abhandlungen der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. Klasse*, 1908, Abh. II, pp. 5–10.

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dha.[7] The religious literature is not original but is composed of translations from foreign sources.

In contrast to these religious documents almost the only remaining secular work is the *Kudatku Bilik*, written toward the end of the eleventh century by a consciously secular literary man, Yussuf from Balasagun, a chancellor (*hijib*) at the court of Boghra Khan. The name of the book signifies "happiness bringing knowledge" or "the knowledge befitting a ruler" (*kut* meaning happiness, but frequently used also in *Kudatku Bilik* in the meaning of "majesty").[8] The work itself is purely didactic in character, concerned with the duties of a ruler, and clad in the form of the instructions given by the Wazir Öktülmish to his son who is about to enter the service of a Khan. Such works were extremely popular during this period in the Orient, as they were in the Middle Ages in the West. But *Kudatku Bilik* differs from Western didactic works, which usually abounded in historical and legendary material. Such historical material is completely absent in *Kudatku Bilik*, which is purely allegorical. The work is concerned with the duties of the ruler toward the ruled, the qualifications for the various classes of officials and an evaluation of a number of moral precepts. Though it is obviously written under the influence of Mohammedanism, it is not a glorification of Islam and the religious content appears superficial and external. The only religious content is in the introduction, which contains the traditional formulae of glorification of God and the Prophet, and in a few pious exclamations in the body of the text.

Kudatku Bilik provides much interesting data about the social and political life of the Uighurs at the end of the eleventh century. From it we learn that Uighur society of Kashgar was divided into three components: the simple people, the *kara am* (compare the Kazakh *kara suyek*); the scientists (*tapukci*), and the government officials. To the *kara am* belonged: merchants (*satikci*), peasants (*taranchi*), and the cattle breeders (*igdishchi*). To the

[7] *Cf.* Mueller, *op. cit.*, 1908, pp. 11–45; 1910, Abh. III.
[8] Bartold, *op. cit.*, pp. 135–136.

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tapukci belonged: the Seid (*alevi*) physicians (*öteci*), conjurers (*apsunci*) and astrologers (*münejim*). To the government officials belonged: the Khan, the Wazirs, the army leaders (*su bashi*), the scribes (*bitikci*), the ambassadors (*yolaoci*) and the guards (*kapukci*).[9] Descriptions are given of the characteristics of each of these groups and their usefulness to the ruler. There are prescribed attitudes toward the peasants, the nomads, the artisans and the merchants.

About the nomads, the work has the following to say:

There also exist cattle breeders,
They watch after their herds of horses.
This is a very truthful group of people, but wisdom they do not possess,
Treat them well. . . .
Mix with them, carry on acquaintance, eat and drink with them,
Allow them to live as it behooves humans to live.
If you mix with them, keep yourself in hand.
Associate and treat them well.
Because they are constantly without laws and without directing thread.
Speak to them good words, but call them not friends.[10]

About the peasants there are the following utilitarian remarks:

These people are necessary to you,
so that your stomach's needs may be supplied. . . .

Associate with them,
speak good to them with your tongue. . . .[11]

A quite different attitude is expressed toward the artisans and the merchants:

[9] H. Vambery, *Uigurische Sprachdokumente*, Innsbruck, 1870, pp. 5–6.
[10] M. Abdykalykov, and A. Pankratova, eds., *History of the Kazakh S.S.R.*, Alma-Ata, 1943, p. 72 (in Russian).
[11] Vambery, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–33.

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174 Another kind of people are the artisans,
538 They create art with their hands, so as to earn their living.
They are all indispensable to you,
Cultivate them, they will bring you advantage, O Great One,

From them come all the works of the earth,
How many amazing things they make.
With them you must associate and you must treat them well.
Make them happy and live yourself in happiness.
If they work for you, — give them gifts without fail,
Give them food and drink. Give them abundant food.[12]

As to the merchants, the ruler is advised to

Deal with them, hold open your gates for them.
Treat them well
so that your good name will spread.
It is these who will carry your name through the world,
who will spread your reputation, good or bad. . . .
If you want to be sure to become famous,
let the merchant have just pay for his goods.
If you want to create a good name for yourself, O Lord,
treat well the caravan people.[13]

Of striking interest is the rational philosophy which permeates the whole work. Knowledge and science are not only highly praised and recommended to the ruler as his most trusted guides, but are considered more important than princely glory and riches. The following section, entitled "Man's honor derives only from knowledge and understanding," may serve as an example of the high regard for learning expressed in *Kudatku Bilik:*

He created fire, wind, water, and earth,
And to Man He gave virtue, knowledge and intellect. . . .

Consider knowledge as high, intellect as great
With those two things He has elevated His slave. . . .

[12] Abdykalykov, Pankratova, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
[13] Vambery, *op. cit.*, pp. 134–135.

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Know the sense of knowledge, know what knowledge is.
Evil will disappear because of Man's knowledge.
The ignorant ones are full of evil
If Man will not heal this evil, he will surely die.
So be it, O ignorant Man, cure your evil,
Heal the ignorant ones, O my knowing friend.[14]

This gives testimony to the high level of education among the ruling circles of Uighur society at this time, which is no doubt a result of the influx of Arabic science with Islamization. In spite of this new scientific attitude, strong remnants of the old Turkic shamanism are still found. Thus, the ruler is advised to treat the physician well, because he can heal him of disease. Following this however, the ruler is also advised to treat the faith healers (*mukasim*) well, because, while the physician heals disease with medicine, the shaman heals it with a talisman.[15]

Kudatku Bilik must have been extremely popular and it probably spread all over the Turkic speaking world. We have verses from the *Kudatku Bilik* on a piece of pottery which was found in *Saraijik* (Saraichikovskoe) at the mouth of the Ural River on the Caspian Sea.[16] Recently, a work of a somewhat later date, but representing the same kind of dry didacticism, was found in Turkey, the *Hibat al-haqa'iq*.[17] This discovery showed that *Kudatku Bilik* was not an isolated occurrence. It is said that in the eleventh century Kashgar was the center of Turkic culture for the entire Inner Asian region. When, however, the Turks regained sovereign status after the Mongol epoch, this cultural center shifted west, and there are no further literary works preserved from Kashgar, or any other Uighur territory.

Only the period of the strong Uighur Empire produced literary works, influenced both by Western (Iranian, Arabic) and Southern (Indian) culture. After the eleventh century we have no

[14] Vambery, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
[15] Vambery, *op. cit.*, pp. 136–137.
[16] *Zapiski kollegii Vostokovedov*, XXI, p. 42, quoted by Bartold, *op. cit.*, p. 136.
[17] Comp. J. Deny, *"A propos d'un traite de morale turc en écriture ouigoure," Revue du Monde Musulman*, 60, 1925, pp. 189–234.

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174 538 literary documents. From then on, the bulk of Uighur cultural production was limited to oral art, as was that of the nomadic Turks of Inner Asia. Since the Uighurs are the only major Turkic people who did not come in direct contact with the Russians (with the exception of the Taranchi in the Ili Valley), Uighur oral art has not been recorded to the same extent by Russian linguists and ethnographers as has the oral art of the other Inner Asian Turks, and we are limited to a few scattered texts of the Tarim Basin Uighurs — the texts of Le Coq, Grenard, Jarring and Katanov-Menges. Most Russian texts have been taken down from the Ili Taranchi (the texts of Radlov, Pantusov and Malov) but, since the Taranchi were separated from the Uighurs only in the eighteenth century, they share a common heritage of folklore. Since their settlement in the Ili Valley, however, a new and additional body of oral art has grown among the Taranchi, dealing primarily with their fate as exiles and their oppression by the Chinese.

538 177 The following genres exist in Uighur oral art: (1) proverbs, (2) popular tales, (3) fairy tales and legends, (4) songs, and (5) historical tales about the Ili Valley (Taranchi tales).

Proverbs give us not only an indication of Uighur customs and ethics, but also reveal strong influences of other cultures, particularly the cultures of the neighboring nomadic Turks and of Iran and India. Iranian influence is strongest and is evidenced in a proverb such as: "Forty people ate forty sheep in one day" (said about careless housekeepers),[18] which is almost literally the same as an Afghan proverb.[19]

Other proverbs clearly hark back to Indian tales of the *Panchatantra* and the *Jatakam*. So the proverb "Waiting for the testes of the male goat, the wolf died of hunger,"[20] goes back to the sixth tale of Part 2 of the *Panchatantra*, which tells of the greedy jackall *Pralobhaka* ("the greedy one") who waited for fifteen years for the testes of the bull to fall off and in his greed forgot to catch

[18] A. v. Le Coq, *Sprichwoerter und Lieder aus der Gegend von Turfan*, Baessler Archiv, Leipzig-Berlin, 1911, p. 41.

[19] Thorburn, *Bannu or Our Afghan Frontier*, London, 1876, 250, No. 29, quoted by Le Coq, *op. cit.*, 2.

[20] Le Coq, *op. cit.*, 27, No. 153.

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mice.[21] Another series of proverbs which develop the moral that man often provokes his own downfall takes us back to the Indian story cycle *Jatakam*. One of the *Jatakam* tales tells of the sparrow who, trying to stop two goats from fighting, flies between them and is crushed.[22] We have only to compare this with the Uighur proverb, "Two stallions are fighting and a fly is squashed," [23] to see the parallel. The Uighur proverb, "When the mouse shall die, it scratches the testes of the cat," [24] also has its counterpart in the *Jatakam* series, such as the tale about the goat which is about to be saved from slaughter because there is no knife, whereupon the goat digs up a knife accidentally from the ground and is slaughtered with it. This story also occurs in a Greek tale and is echoed in an Arab proverb "Don't be like the sheep which perished by digging with its hoofs." There is some controversy as to the way this story came to Sinkiang and became an Uighur proverb. Fraenkel [25] claims that its origin was Greece, whence it traveled to the Arabs and with Arab merchants to Sinkiang and India. R. Pischel, however,[26] avers that the fact that it occurred in the *Jatakam* proves its Indian origin.

Many of the Uighur tales belong to general Turkic and Iranian Inner Asian story cycles and are the offspring of Inner Asian written folk tales. Such is the story of Hamra,[27] which roughly follows the theme of the popular Inner Asian written tale by the same name about the love of two supernatural beings for a young man.[28] Others again are retold versions of romances of the famous fifteenth-century Uzbek poet, Ali-sher Newai. Such are the tales

[21] Comp. *Panchatantra*, (T. Benfey,) Leipzig, 1859, II, pp. 194–195.
[22] Comp. R. Pischel; *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft*, pp. 47, 86–87 (hereafter "ZDMG").
[23] C. Brockelman, *Altturkestanische Volksweisheit, Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 8, Heft 1/4, 71, No. 255.
[24] Brockelman, *op. cit.*, No. 225.
[25] *Das Schaf und das Messer*, ZDMG, 47, pp. 737–740.
[26] ZDMG, 47, 88.
[27] V. Radlov, *Proben der Volksliteratur d. Turkischen Staemme Suedsibiriens*, VI, pp. 114–130; G. Jarring, *Materials to the Knowledge of Eastern Turki*.
[28] H. Vambery, *Cagataische Sprachstudien*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 35.

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of Shirin and Saipul Mueluek.[29] These are stories full of fantasy and the supernatural in which the lyrical romanticism of Iran is clearly visible. Despite their strong demoniacal elements, they are definitely Mohammedan in content.

The Uighur fairy tales show some relics of what once must have been an epic tradition. It is a common characteristic of Inner Asian culture that the epic character of the folklore suffers with the settling of the once nomadic tribes and the subsequent influence of sedentary, non-Turkic cultures, particularly that of Islam with its taboos against the shamanastic traditions which were originally so important a part of these nomadic cultures.

A typical Uighur fairy tale with epic elements is that of Shim Tömür *batyr*[30] (hero) and the fight of this hero with the seven-headed monster, Yälmüngüsh. The theme of this tale reminds us of the typical heroic epos as we find it still today among the nomadic Inner Asian Turks, with its stress on the strength and heroism of the individual *batyr* who can singlehandedly defeat a whole army and the most powerful monsters. The form also has strong elements of the epic tradition, in the constant repetition of key formulae (which serve as convenient pauses for the improviser before each episode), and in the typical slow action of the story. Here we have no longer an epic poem, but a prose tale. In all these epic fairy tales, however, we still have the remnants of a former poetic epos in the frequent versified soliloquies and key phrases which go through all the stories.

Many of the simple, nonepic legends and fairy tales appear to be borrowed, often from the Indian story cycles such as the *Bharatakadvatrimsika*. Such is the tale of the peasant[31] who is told by a passer-by that after his donkey has given certain signs, such as breaking wind, he will die. After the donkey breaks wind the peasant really believes he is dead. This tale has become part of a general Eastern story cycle and occurs in an almost identical version even in the Russian fairy tales.

[29] Radlov, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 95–113, 131–144.

[30] *Ibid.*, 210 ff.; N. N. Pantusov, *Examples of Taranchi Popular Literature*, Kazan, 1909, pp. 1–13 (in Russian).

[31] Radlov, *op. cit.*, VI, 231 ff.

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heroine of the tale is the brave woman Nozugum, who refuses to 533
be married to an infidel and repeatedly tries to flee. She is finally executed by the Chinese and worshiped by her people as a martyr. The tale ends with a versified moral which reflects the strong spirit of national resistance, evidenced in so much of Taranchi oral art:

If a woman is like you, Nozugum, honest and pure,
Why should she fear the Chinese criminals?
If such be the action of women
Then these women will taste the joys of paradise.
May God have mercy on the soul of Nozugum,
May she achieve the virtues of a great martyr.

Although religious ideas and religious leaders have played an important part in Uighur society, it is possible to exaggerate their importance. A case in point is the common assertion by Western writers, who base themselves mainly on Uighur informants, that the great uprisings in the second half of the nineteenth century were initiated by representatives of the Moslem clergy. Unpublished documents by Uighur eyewitnesses of the uprisings indicate, however, that they began among the peasantry and the poor of the cities.[40] Representatives of the Moslem aristocracy joined the movement later and made themselves the leaders.

The chief cultural heritage of the Kazakhs is in their folklore 538
and music; the two combine in their epic poetry. In addition there 533
is a body of literature known as the "book songs," predominantly religious in character, which were written for the propagation of Islam.

Unlike the literature and oral art of the Uighurs, Kazakh folk art is primarily social, concerned with the collective problems of

[40] During such risings, and especially in the period of turmoil under Yakub Beg, many people fled into Russian territory. Both the Tsarist officials and interested scholars took down a great many "depositions" or personal narratives of these refugees. The University of Kazan, which because it was in the heart of the Russian Tatar region was an important center of Turkic studies, became the great repository of such documents; many of which, however, were not carefully studied until after the Bolshevik Revolution.

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538 533 clans and tribes, or of the Kazakh nation. Through the efforts of Russian ethnographers, a vast number of ancient legends, songs, and epics have been preserved which are the property not only of the wandering bards but of the whole nation, parts of them being known to every nomad. Many of the epics are not purely national in character, but are handed from people to people. Thus there are many epics which are equally famous among the Kazakhs and the Kirghiz, or the Kazakhs and the Oirat.

The Kazakhs are an extremely musical people and the song and the epos which are sung by wandering improvising singers to the accompaniment of a primitive stringed instrument, the *dombra,* represent the greater part of their folklore heritage. Every phase of life is recorded in songs: birth, marriage, battle, joy, unhappiness, death. The nineteenth century Kazakh writer and educator Abai Kunanbaev characterized the importance of the song in the life of the Kazakh nation in a poem in which he said:

> The song will open the door to the world for you
> The song will open the door of death for you.
> Listen to it, Kazakh, follow its wisdom.
> The song travels with you all your life.[41]

Songs are not only sung and spread by the wandering professional bards, but are part of the daily life of the people. A popular part of a Kazakh celebration is the singing competition between two individuals. In such duels, both the words and music are entirely improvised and the winner is the one who can improvise the longest.

533 585 538 Of particular interest are the prescribed songs, sung on occasions such as weddings and funerals, which provide a striking insight into the cultural and social life of the people. These, in contrast to the other songs of the Kazakhs, have fixed texts and music. Thus the traditional wedding song (*Zhar-Zhar*) clearly reflects the role of the woman in society. The majority of wedding songs have dramatic content and consist of a dialoguelike singing

[41] Abdykalykov and Pankratova, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

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between a group of young girls and a group of young men. They echo the old custom of bride purchase, marriage often against the will of the partners, the inheritance of the wife of the deceased by his successor in the family, and in general the totally subordinate position of the woman. The gay chorus of the young men asks the girl to hurry with the marriage. This is answered by the sad chorus of the girls, bewailing their loss of freedom.

Other traditional forms are the farewell song (*koshtasu*), the song of sad news (*estirtu*), and the mourning song (*zhoktau*). The farewell song has many variations, as have the other traditional songs. It might be composed by a dying father or mother, telling the family of last wishes, speaking of the heaviness of parting from life and of unfulfilled dreams. Another favorite type of farewell song is the farewell to the family and the native land. In the period of forced migrations due to outside aggression, these songs were particularly widespread. Thus for instance there is preserved today a farewell song, composed by the famous eighteenth century *akyn* (bard) Bukhar Zhirau on the occasion of the forced migration of a group of the Kazakhs from their traditional grazing grounds as a result of pressure from the Jungars:

A caravan is marching from the heights of the Kara Tau . . .
How hard it is to bid good-by to our native land!
Tears stream from dark eyes . . .
What times must we live in! Oh, times of misery!
The tears from my eyes form seas and lakes.
What times of hardship!
Happiness and richness have forsaken us.
Dust rises from the wandering caravan —
Worse than the icy storms of December.[42]

As among other nomads, tales and legends play a great role among the Kazakhs. While Kazakh tales show the strong influence of neighboring cultures, and particularly of the *Arabian Nights*, there are also many original tales of magic, animal tales — which

[42] Abdykalykov, Pankratova, *op. cit.*, pp. 170–171.

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538 773 are particularly popular because of the close association of the Kazakh cattle breeders with animals — and tales dealing with the struggle for good pasture land. Thus, for example, the tale of *Zhupar*[43] tells of the mother of a great family who leads her children away from the rest of the clan, which has become poor because of cattle starvation.

The heroic epos is of particular importance among the nomads. It is usually connected with actual historical events such as the falling apart of the Kazakh Khanate (*Shora Narokov*), the fight against the Kalmuks (*Er Targyn*), the struggle with the Uzbeks (*Kambara*). The authors of these epics are generally unknown and the epos is spread by the traveling epic bards, *zhyrshi* (from *zhyr*, song, which is the only term the Kazakhs have for the epos). The meter of the epos is usually a seven- or eight-footed verse, with a varying number of lines to a stanza. There is no steady rhythm in the verse. The musical quality is achieved by instrumentation and is built on tonal repetition and alliteration. The more dramatic parts of the epos are rendered in a fast and declamatory meter (*zheldirme* — the trotting race).[44] The origin of most of the epics appears to be very early. The fact that the term "Kazakh" rarely occurs, and that the heroes are called "emigrants from Nogaila" leads to the conclusion that at the time of the origin of most of the epics the Kazakhs were still part of the Golden Horde.

A typical heroic epos is that of *Er Targyn*,[45] which proclaims the virtues and prowess of the typical epic hero, who by his strength, alertness, and sometimes almost supernatural powers, is able to defeat singlehanded the greatest armies and the most powerful supernatural beings and to extricate himself from the most awkward situations. In this particular epos, the hero, a fugitive from his own Khan, finds refuge in the land of the Crimean Khan and by his great power helps him defeat the Kalmuks. For this he is promised the Khan's daughter, whom he wins only

[43] *Op. cit.*, pp. 140–141.
[44] L. S. Sobolev, *Pesni stepei*, Moscow, 1940, pp. 12–13.
[45] Radlov, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 153–205.

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after a prolonged struggle with the Khan, who doubts his social status. Side by side with herioc elements the epos contains long and effective lyrical passages, dealing with the love between Er Targyn and the Khan's daughter, Ak Zhunus.

Quite different from the heroic epos are the lyrical tales, which are concerned mainly with romantic subjects of love and suffering. The most popular of these is the Romeo and Juliet-like tale of *Kozy Korpesh and Bayan Slu* which is found in Uighur folklore under the name of *Täji Pasha and Sora Khanim*,[46] and among the Oirats under the name of *Kioziuik*. This is the tale of two lovers who had been promised to each other by their respective fathers before their birth. Because of the death of Kozy Korpesh's father, however, Bayan Slu's father breaks the contract, not wishing to marry his daughter to an orphan. The two lovers are unable to find their happiness together in life. It is only after their death that they can find peace from persecution and on the two adjoining graves arise two bushes which grow together, like the roses that sprang from the graves of Barbara Allen and her lover.

In the nineteenth century, when the Kazakhs were fighting for their independence in a series of risings against the Russians, their songs became the main propaganda weapon for the rallying of national sentiment. Many of the foremost bards also became political leaders, and we have from this period a whole series of songs about the various phases of the struggle for independence.

Contact with the Russians and particularly with the Russian exiles who were sent into the Kazakh steppes made for a great cultural development, despite the Russian policy of denationalization and Russification. This period witnessed an impressive growth of written literature, not only concerned with Kazakh themes, but also containing new themes reflecting the influence of Russian literature and, through it, of Western literature in general. After the establishment of the Soviets and their program of cultural development for the national minorities, the Kazakhs on the Soviet side of the border developed a flourishing young litera-

[46] Radlov, *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 236 ff.; A. S. Orlov, *The Kazakh Heroic Epos*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1945, p. 5 (in Russian).

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538 ture, based not only on the traditional forms of Kazakh oral
177 poetry, but also on such Western literary forms as the novel, the short story, and the drama. The rapid rise in literacy enabled the new literature to become truly the property of the people. The new themes are concerned with modern problems such as the Civil War, the Five Year Plans, the building of a socialist society and the war against Nazi Germany.

Despite the fact that there are available no texts collected from the Sinkiang Kazakhs, it may be assumed that the social and national upheaval of the Kazakhs on the Russian side of the border has influenced the oral art of the Kazakhs in Sinkiang, particularly since the Russo-Chinese border never presented a serious barrier to the movement of nomads.

538 The main cultural heritage of the Kirghiz, like that of the Kazakhs, is in their tradition of oral art and in a strongly developed sense of music; but epic poetry is even more strongly developed. Many of the Turkic national tales, legends, and heroic episodes have been amalgamated by the Kirghiz into a huge national epos, which has recently been completely recorded for the first time by Soviet ethnographers and folklorists. This national epos, *Manas*,[47] deals primarily with the Kirghiz struggle against the Kalmuks in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which is depicted as a religious fight of the Mohammedan true believers against the infidels. It gives a detailed picture of the life and customs of the Kirghiz, with descriptions of battles, family life, marriage, death ceremonies, feasts. According to Radlov in the nineteenth century and to recent Soviet ethnologists, this epos is still very much alive among the Kirghiz people, and practically every Kirghiz can recite parts of it. Since the Soviet Revolution, the Soviet Kirghiz have developed a considerable body of new literature, in which they have taken over the Western forms of the novel and the drama, in addition to the use of their old traditional epic and poetic forms.

[47] The most recent and most complete translation into Russian is: U. Dzhekishev *et al.*, eds., *Manas*, Moscow, 1946, 370 pp.

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for hand-washing) are "turban-head" utensils in which the Chinese took no interest.

The calligraphic art seems never to have flourished in Chinese Turkistan, and no Turki or Persian manuscripts of any merit appear to have been produced locally. Among the masses of "junk" brought to me at Kashgar, however, I was fortunate enough to come upon a genuine fifteenth-century Persian MS., in almost perfect condition. Noticing that the writing was exquisite and that a very early date appeared on the last page, I pointed out disparagingly that the book contained no pictures (this was not surprising) and few illuminated headings, and offered five taels for it. Eventually, after months of desultory bargaining, I acquired it for sixteen. It proved on examination by Dr. Edwardes of the British Museum and Dr. Nicholson of Cambridge to be a MS. of considerable importance, dated A.H. 150 or A.D. 1446, and containing four different Persian works, namely:

(1) The *Kulliyat* of Farid-ud-din 'Attar (twelfth-thirteenth century).
(2) The *Fihi Mafihi* of the famous mystic poet Jalal-ud-din Rumi.
(3) A mystical work called *Tarab ul Majalis*.
(4) In the margin, the *Masnavi* of Jalal-ud-din Rumi.

The *Kulliyat* and the two Rumi works are early enough recensions to be of some importance textually, while the *Tarab ul Majalis* is almost unique, only one other copy of the work being known, that in the India Office Library.

As might be expected from the isolated position of the Tarim Basin and the mediæval conditions prevailing, the country is a happy hunting-ground for the folklorist. Quaint customs and superstitions, most of them dating far back beyond Islam and even Buddhism, survive in remarkable profusion. Legends, too, are numerous and widespread; but these are more difficult to disentangle from the mythological web with which Islam has interwoven the mass of Buddhistic and Manichæan tradition. The legends and mediæval history of Chinese Turkistan have been treated very fully by M. Grenard in his work "La Haute Asie," embodying the researches of the Dutreuil de Rhins Mission to Tibet and Chinese Turkistan (1890–95), and I found afterwards that some of the material I collected had already been recorded by that Mission. The subject is of such interest, however, and the work done on it so little known, that I make no apology for recording some of

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538 my observations, including particularly those which do not appear in Grenard or other authorities, together with such of Grenard's data and conclusions as are necessary for their elucidation.

In Vol. III of " La Haute Asie " the author discusses the mass of tradition, pre-Muhammadan in origin but " captured " by Islam, of which the chief repositories are the *tazkiras* or sacred books of the various sanctuaries. At Imamlär, among the foot-hills of the Kunlun 45 miles south-west of Keriya, I bought from one of the mullas a modern copy of the *tazkira* of the shrine. With the help of Murad Qari I translated this quite short work, a matter of considerable difficulty owing to the badness of the writing and the obscurity in some places of the Turki. The legend proved to be that of the " Four Imams," Nasir-ud-din, Zahur-ud-din, Mu'in-ud-din and Qawam-ud-din, the last of the twelve descendants of 'Ali who according to local tradition came from Arabia at various times during the ninth and tenth centuries and were martyred in battle for the Faith. The narrative tells how the Four Imams sent one of their captains, Yusuf Qadir Khan Ghazi, with an army of 40,000 men to Kashgar, which showed signs of reverting to paganism. Yusuf Qadir Khan reported by letter that the people of Kashgar refused to believe in the Prophet unless His descendants (i.e. the Imams) came in person. The Four Imams accordingly set out for Kashgar with an army of 140,000 faithful.[1]

The psalm which the Imams sang at Madain in Arabia before they marched is worth repeating:

539 PSALM OF THE FOUR IMAMS WHO SET OUT FROM BAGHDAD TO CONQUER THE LAND OF KASHGAR

Ai igizlärni qelghuchi pasti
Bär-ni yoq, yoqni qelghuchi hasti;
Zikrgha järi qelsäne
Lashkarni qäri qelsäne;
Salmä konglegha ghair yädini
Ber bu 'äjiz til-lärning murädini;
Konglegha 'ilm o 'ishq tushqärghil
Ber 'amal räst, yollgha bäshqärghil;

[1] The method by which they numbered the army is quaint, and is reminiscent of Herodotus' description of the numbering of the Persian host by Xerxes. They took a grain of maize for every ten men, and then weighed the maize, which was found to amount to one *charak* (about 20 lb.); the number of grains in one *ching* (1/16th of a *charak*) was then counted and the total arrived at.

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Būbākam hurmatidin, ai Bārā
Barja mushkil ishigha ber, Yārā;
Hama mushkil-lāreni āsān ait
'Ishq o faiz o futuh ahsān ait.

(Translation)

O Thou who makest high places low,
Who makest Nothingness out of Existence and Existence out of Nothingness;
Make (our mouths) worthy to utter Thy name,
Make our army worthy to read (Thy word).
Put not in our hearts the thought of anything other (than Thee).
Grant the desire of these our humble tongues.
Implant knowledge and love (of Thee) in our hearts.
Grant that we may act aright and guide us in our path;
By the virtue of our Ancestor, O God,
Deliver the infidels to adversity, O Beloved (God);
Make all our difficulties easy;
Grant us Thy love and favour, grant us victory.

538

In Bokhara and Ferghana the Imams were joined by further large armies of adherents under the command of local notables. When they arrived at Kashgar "the troops filled the city so full that if anything had fallen from Heaven it would have fallen upon the shoulders of the army, for there would have been no room for it upon the earth." The Kashgaris had therefore no choice but to embrace Islam. Leaving Yusuf Qadir Khan as governor of Kashgar, the Imams set out for Khotan. At Yarkand, which was then quite a small place, the inhabitants became converted at once; as a reward the Imams informed them that one day Yarkand would be the capital of the country. At Goma a body of people were seen on the road ahead; some came to the Imams and were converted, others ran away. The Imams were suspicious of these latter, wherefore the place was afterwards Goma, from *guman*, "suspicion." Pialma (two marches west of Khotan) received its name from the fact that the people brought presents of quinces and apples (*bih* and *alma*) to the Holy Ones.[1]

Meanwhile the princes of Khotan, named Juqta Rashid and Nuqta Rashid, were preparing to resist. The first encounter between the infidels and the Mussulman army was at Qumrabat Padshahim, where in a skirmish the Imam Shakir

[1] Similar explanations are given for the names of Moji and Zanguya on the Yarkand-Khotan road, but I could not elucidate them. Such stories are obviously "etiological myths."

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538 was killed.[1] The luck of the Imams had turned. The princes of Khotan had a very powerful sorcerer, who caused the whole city to become invisible to the Mussulmans just as their attack commenced. The Imams, unable to take a city they could not see, stayed where they were for forty years. At the end of this period, as the invaders would not go, Nuqta Rashid and Juqta Rashid, together with most of their army and the sorcerer, escaped secretly from Khotan and fled to the mountains, leaving an aged champion called Khalkhal[2] in command at Khotan. The city now once more became visible to the Imams, who had no difficulty in entering it and converting Khalkhal after a sharp battle. They then went after Nuqta and Juqta, who had built themselves a city of stone on the top of a mountain.[3] They turned the infidels out of this stronghold by cutting the copper conduit by which water was brought to it from the river. The final battle, which took place further to the east, raged without result for two days. On the night of the second day two men of a village called Ujat, magically disguised as dogs, stole into the Mussulmans' camp and cut all the fastenings of their harness and other gear, so that next day the Imams and all their host were defeated and killed.[4] Only forty believers survived to bring the news of the martyrdom of the Imams to Yusuf Qadir Khan, who proceeded to the spot to bury them and establish the shrine which bears their name. As a punishment for their part in the martyrdom of the Imams, a curse fell upon the people of Ujat; it was decreed that their sons should always be born with four legs and a tail. The only way in which they could rid themselves of this curse was by giving their daughters to the Sheikhs of the Imamlär shrine in marriage and thus purifying the stock.[5]

[1] Two pigeons flew from his body after the battle, thus enabling it to be identified; these pigeons are the ancestors of the thousands of sacred pigeons at the shrine of Imam Shakir at Qumrabat Padshahim. This story does not appear in the Imamlär *tazkira*.

[2] From a comparison with other *tazkiras*, Grenard thinks that Khalkhal was the king of Khotan and Juqta and Nuqta his ministers—possibly leading Lamas.

[3] Local tradition places this stronghold at Hasha, two marches south-east of Khotan at the foot of the Tikkelik Tagh. Here there are remains of a Buddhist monastery (Grenard). See also Stein, "Serindia," pp. 1320–1.

[4] The date of the martyrdom of the Imams is given as 10th Muharram, A.H. 391 (A.D. 1000).

[5] Grenard gives a résumé of this *tazkira* (Vol. III, pp. 38–41), but does not mention some of the interesting points such as the method

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The author of "La Haute Asie," who collected all the *tazkiras* of the various shrines (a fact of which I was unaware when I acquired and translated a copy of the Imamlär one), shows that in their present form they all date from about the beginning of the eighteenth century. They are Sunni editions of the original Shi'a legends of the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. Even the Shi'a legends, however, were not original. They were adaptations by the early mullas of pre-Muhammadan traditions connected with ancestor-worship at local shrines. None of the Twelve Imams came to Kashgar at all; the heroes of the legends were almost certainly eighth to tenth century Shi'a adventurers escaping from the persecution of the Ommiad Caliphs and other Sunni authorities. With small bands of followers, these bold Saracens raided Chinese territory in much the same way as their Western brethren raided Europe, and their exploits became legendary, like the eighth-century Saracen raid into the south of France which ended in the Battle of Poitiers. These "Imams" accomplished little, and they were all either killed or taken prisoner by the natives. None of their raids, Grenard thinks, preceded the authentic attempt of Qutaibah to impose Islam upon Kashgaria in the tenth century; it was Qutaibah who led the way, and yet he is not mentioned at all in the *tazkiras* and is entirely forgotten. This is because he was a Sunni.

771

The complete conversion of the Tarim Basin to Islam was a slow process. In the tenth century the official religion of the country was Buddhism, with its chief stronghold at Khotan, but it was a debased Buddhism, and a pagan Manichæism was the real religion of the people. Paganism died hard in the Basin; indeed, as we shall see later, it is not by any means dead yet. The destruction of the old Buddhist theocracy at Khotan and the conversion of the whole country to Islam were begun by Qutaibah and the so-called Imams, and continued by Sadiq Boghra Khan, the Uigur Prince who first embraced Islam. Then came the Qara Khitai and the Mongols, and the Faith received a set-back. It was not till the fourteenth century that Islam could be definitely called the religion of the country. In the meantime the Muhammadan element had been evolving its tradition and consolidating its position *vis-à-vis* the pagans.

of numbering the army of the Faithful; the Psalm; the derivations of Pialma, Goma, etc., and the punishment meted out to the men of Ujat (see next paragraph). Prof. Huntington, who visited Imamlär in 1905, mentions this same *tazkira* ("Pulse of Asia," p. 164).

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771 Its method was simply to appropriate the pagan heroes with their local cults and identify them with its own pioneers. The cult of the Imams and other Mussulman saints, as Grenard points out,[1] goes back to religions older than Islam. The Mussulman priests, powerless to destroy the popular worship at certain shrines, adopted those shrines and christened them with the names of Islamic personages.

538 I came across several such survivals of pre-Muhammadan traditions during our travels, though I did not always recognize their true significance. At Chira, half-way between Khotan and Keriya, is the shrine of one of the foremost "Imams," Ja'far Tairan. The local legend is that this Imam came flying through the air from Mecca to convert the Kingdom of Khotan. Now Hsuan Tsang in the seventh century tells of a sacred image at Keriya, 20 feet high and luminous, which at the death of the Buddha flew by itself from Kochambi in India, where it was made, to a place in the north of the Kingdom of Khotan.[2] A still more striking instance is that of the story in the Imamlär *tazkira* about the men of Ujat who entered the camp of the Imams by night disguised as dogs and rendered the arms and armour of the Mussulmans useless, thus helping the King of Khotan to defeat them. This is evidently an adaptation of the legend of the sacred rats recorded by Hsuan Tsang and quoted by Sir Aurel Stein.[3] Khotan was being invaded by a great force of Hiong-nu or Huns, and its king was in despair. One night he was visited in a dream by the King of the Rats, who offered him his help. The King of Khotan accepted the offer, and next night a great army of rats "as big as hedgehogs, their hair the colour of gold and silver," invaded the camp of the Huns and ate all their bow-strings and the leather fastenings of their harness. This altogether incapacitated the Huns, who were easily defeated next day. Thenceforward the rats which lived near the scene of the battle were regarded as sacred and fed regularly by pilgrims. The curious thing is that, according to Stein, the scene of this battle is the same as that of the defeat and death of Imam Shakir where now stands the "Pigeon Shrine" of Qumrabat Padshahim; and Stein thinks that the pigeons are the lineal descendants, as it were, of the golden-haired rats. It will be remembered that the Ujat men assumed

[1] Vol. II, p. 240.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan," p. 195.

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animal shape when they entered the Mussulman camp, and the curse which fell upon their village was that all male children in it should be born with four feet and a tail—an ingenious adaptation of the pagan tradition.

Another priestly legend of lineage older than Islam is that which was told me by the Chief Qazi of Opal, a charming village situated some 28 miles west of Kashgar on a plateau of loess between two winding valleys. These valleys, called the Qizil (red) and Qara (black) Jilghas, have been cut in the loess by two streams which flow one on each side of a low hill clothed with ancient planes and crowned by the picturesque shrine of Hazrat Maulam. They join about five miles below Opal, where there is the mausoleum of the Hazrat with another shrine over it. Near the foot of the hill is a cave, and the story is that this was once the lair of a dragon which preyed upon the countryside after the manner of its kind. This went on until the Four Imams came to free the country from the dragons of idolatry and of superstition. They commissioned one of their captains, Hazrat Maulam, to slay the beast, and gave him a magic belt which enabled him to do the deed. Unfortunately the dragon's poison was too strong for the Hazrat, and he died in the hour of victory. The question then was, where should he be buried? The people of the two valleys, the Red and the Black, fought for the honour of providing his burial-place. Finally it was decided to cut the Hazrat in half and inter his head and shoulders in one valley and his legs in the other. But when the Holy Imams heard of this they were angry, and ordered that the saint should be buried at the place where the two valleys meet.

At Lamus on the Duwa stream, twelve miles south of Pialma, I was interested to hear from a delightful old Haji a legend about the Four Imams which does not appear in the Imamlär *tazkira*. On the day before the battle at Qumrabat Padsha[illegible]m in which, as already described, the Imam Shakir was killed, the Four Imams encamped at a place called Takhtuban in the desert, 20 miles north-east of Lamus. There was no water, and the Imams thirsted; so their followers, 40,000 of them, formed a line, standing side by side all the way to Lamus, whence they passed water in buckets from hand to hand until the thirst of the Holy Ones was quenched. Thenceforward the place was called Olam-su, afterwards corrupted to Lamus, because the water (*su*) was "grafted" (*olamak*) from its spring to Takhtuban.

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647 669 538 539

respectively; and if they had not been taken by surprise several days before they thought the Governor's troops could possibly reach them, there would have been much more bloodshed and many civilians might have lost lives or property.

The joy and relief of the Kashgaris at their deliverance knew no bounds. The popular feelings were amusingly expressed in a ribald ballad, which was being sung within two days of the Titai's execution, if not sooner. It described with much gusto the defeat of the "Bald Wax-Seller" by the Government troops, his capture and his subsequent execution, by "Ma Darin." The poetry of this effusion was not of a high order, but some of the quatrains showed considerable *verve*. Here are a few specimens:

The wily Ma Darin
He brought his Kalmuck lads
He fell upon the New City and took it
He seized the Bald Wax-seller and shot him.

By Allah! a wind arose
By Allah! a tempest arose
The soldiers of the Bald Wax-seller
By Allah! they have fled away.

The Bald Wax-seller who slept on cotton-wool
The Bald Wax-seller who lolled in his carriage
Who founded the city of Frogtown [1]
Four bullets were enough for him and he is gone.

Though he boasted in his pride
His soul was in the hands of God;
Weep not, O people of Kashgar
Your city too is in God's hands.

The fate of the Titai's harem was a matter which excited the keenest interest among the scandal-loving Kashgaris. Another of the quatrains ran as follows:

In the palace of Ma Titai
Forty vases of flowers are left;
The wives of Ma Titai
On an evil day are widowed.

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[1] The Titai built an immense palace at Pakalik, 12 miles south of the New City, but as mentioned above it was burnt down. The name means "full of frogs," for which reason the Titai changed it to Sukho and forbade the use of the name Pakalik.

SN
563 outlook on life, which results in a remarkable internal
153 social stability of family and community at the expense of
779 personal ease. The greatest Islamist of our time, Carl
155 Brockelmann, once called the Quran "die Heeredienstvor-
schrift für die Mohammedaner" ("the army regulation book
for the Muslims"), and indeed the Quran is not only the
condensation of Muslimic religion and philosophy but also the
code of laws and the "code of practical regulations" concern-
ing the practical daily life of the average Muslim. From
childhood on those "regulations" are drilled and hammered
in to the people. The Quran becomes the basis from which
everything is judged. The conclusion, that the Muslims do
show a strong inclination for doctrinal behavior, is
rather justified.

SN
563 If we describe the nomad as a logical and realistic individ-
153 ual to whom neurosis and psychosis are in general alien, one
185 certainly should not forget that there has been still room for
[158] romance in his life: first and foremost, the Muslimic nomads
as well as the Buddhistic nomads (the Mongols) dreamed and
still dream of the creation of their own empire in which they
are the masters and not the Chinese. The Mongols still
mourn for their once powerful and grand empire "where the
hoof of the brave horse was the only sound and the roaring
and bellowing of camels and cows the only noise" and where
the Khan of the Khans, the Khakhan, the Great King, resides
in Qaraqorum, the scene of the Great qurultai (constitutional
and legislative assembly), ruling the Mongolian tribes and
leading the Mongolian armies, in the name and as the representa-
tive and vicar of the "Eternal Blue Heaven," the ruler over
the universe.

SN
563 While in the folklore and literature of the Muslimic nomads
538 the Golden Horde and the Chagatai Empire (Chagatai Ulus),
Batur Khan and Timur Lenk (Tamerlane) are oft-repeated
subjects, the Mongolian folklore abounds in painting the deeds
of Chingis Khan and is excessive in describing the adventurous
SN greatness of the former Mongolian Empire.

563 The Buddhistic conception of palingenesis and reincarnation
775 add another romantic feature to the life of the average Mongol
771 and Tibetan and the belief of the Muslim (after having become
[827] a hajji, a pilgrim, or even better, a hazze, one who fought
as a soldier against the "non-believers") that he would enter
the paradise of heaven (or better one of the seven heavens,
the seventh, only when he sacrificed his life to Allah in combat),
SN is a deep-rotted romantic conception.

563 As we said, the life of the Buddhistic nomad is centered
771 around his tent and his herds, so to speak, the outer sphere of
his life, but the inside sphere is absorbed deeply by religion,

212 563 [668] 5. Literature

a. literacy

The Eastern Turks still use the Arabic script. Until recently there was at least 95 per cent illiteracy. The Communist regime apparently has successfuly attempted to fight illiteracy.

b. literature and folklore

538 178 563 Since Chagatai times the Eastern Turks have been the bearers of an amazing literature and folklore. For over a hundred years, this intellectual life has been declining. Now nothing remains but primitive samples of that literature which was so famous and influential upon various Turkic peoples.

101 563 175 B. The Taranchis

The Taranchis are ethnically, linguistically, culturally and genetically the same as the Eastern Turks. Those New-Uighurs who were defeated by the Chinese at the middle of the 18th century and fled to the Russian part of the Ili Area, the Russians called Taranchi, a name that has remained ever since.

C. The Kazakhs

1. Origin and physical characteristics

Prior to the Russian Revolution the Kazakhs were called Kirghiz. Many times they are referred to as Kazakh-Kirghiz, or Kirghiz-Kazakhs or Kirghiz-Kaisaks. The original homeland of the Kazakhs was southern Siberia between the Yenisei River and the Ob River. According to Abulgazi and Rashideddin the Kazakhs were a very small tribe which expanded after the Mongolian conquest and after frequent mergings with Mongolian clans. This [144] explains why the Kazakhs resemble the Mongols so much. In fact [142] 80 per cent of the anthropological features of the Kazakhs are mongoloid, i.e. a strong and square-built trunk with relatively short legs, wide and round heads; in profile only a slight curvature of the occiput (back part of the head) can be seen; the face is wide and flat, high cheek-bones, and typical mongolian eyelid, the nose is flat, hair and eyes are black or brown, the lower jaw is wide and strongly built.

2. Social organization

a. the khanate

563 175 619 The Kazakh hordes first belonged to the Chagatai Empire and later to the Golden Horde. During the sixteenth century they formed their own Kazakh Khanate.

b. the tribes

563 619 The Kazakhs living in Sinkiang belong mostly to the Orta Dzhuz (middle horde), consisting of the following five main tribes: (1) Atagni, (2) Naiman, (3) Argin, (4) Uvak-Girei and (5) Kipchak.

c. the clans

[614] The clan organization among the Kazakhs is very well preserved.

563 Known clan names of the Middle Horde are the following: Chakchat,
613 Chardzhid, Turtul, Karaul, Karakisak, Kandzhagali, Achai, Tarakli,
614 Kulchan-Argin, Kundelen, Usun, Tanabuga, Karabalik-Kipchak.

3. Economy

563 The Kazakhs are still nomads. The rear camels, horses,
233 sheep and goats. In contrast to the Eastern Turks who live in
433 brick and mud houses, they live in felt tents. The Kazakhs are
[342] famous horse and camel breeders. Sheep play the most important role as sources of wool and meat. Like the Kirghiz and the Mongols, the Kazakhs have carefully explored, selected and defended summer pastures and protected valleys for the winter time.

563 The Kazakhs are very proud and independent. They dislike
181 any political supervision and are known to have avoided tax collectors by crossing the borders to Mongolia or Soviet Russia.

4. Literature

563 The Kazakhs have a huge folklore which is being handed down
538 from generation to generation. They still use the Arabic script,
[173] but only a small percentage of noblemen and clergy are literate.
[212]

5. Religion

563 The Kazakhs are Moslems, belonging to the Sunna sect, but
701 they are in no way passionate and ardent believers like, for instance, the Turks of Persia. Their nomadic life obviously does not permit strict observance of the Islamic regulations.

D. The Kirghiz

101 1. History

175 Prior to the Communist Revolution the Kirghiz were called
563 Kara-Kirghiz or Burut. When the Kirghiz were driven out of Mongolia by the Kara Khitai (shortly before 924 A.D.), some moved southwest into the areas where they now live.

563 The Kirghiz are subdivided into two wings: Ong-the right one,
[619] and Sol-the left one. Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz have a very
[614] well preserved clan system. They are believed to represent the
[144] oldest Turkish tribe. As far as their physical charaeteristics are concerned, what has been said about the Kazakhs is also true for the Kirghiz; i.e., the Kirghiz also had mixed with Mongol clans at a very early period.

2. Their regulation

[147] The Kirghiz have a reputation for being extremely resistant
[181] to rigorous climate, hunger and diseases. They are well known
[212] for their wit and sense of humor. Although most are illiterate,
[538] their vivid folklore is handed down in every single tent and many Kirghiz tribesmen are able to quote thousands of rhymes from their epic songs.

3. Economy

563 Their weather-beatend faces show that they live in the moun-
361 tains. They breed horses, camels, sheep, goats and yaks. When
233

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[556] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[291] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent
[167] a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[538] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols, but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
[197] two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a Western Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
[233] be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[342] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[614] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
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ARTISTIC AND INTELLECTUAL EXPRESSION

I. The Turkic Peoples of Sinkiang

563 517 A. General Introduction

The artistic and intellectual expressions of the peoples of Sinkiang vary greatly from those of the people of China proper. The culture of the Eastern Turkis is influenced greatly by Islamic civilization, and constitutes a culturally integral part of Turkestan as a whole.

563 517 53 545 The artistic and intellectual creative achievements are contained in the vast written and oral literature of the Turkic people, in their extensive folklore, folk music and dance. The arts of painting and sculpture are a tradition of the past, and have scarcely been practiced since the conversion of the Turkic people to Islam. Turkic theatre, with the exception of shadow [177] [268] theatre, was virtually unknown in Sinkiang prior to the Communist era. The Communists have introduced dramatic art into Eastern Turkestan, the modern theatrical productions being on the Soviet model for drama among national minorities.

563 517 53 177 "Unfortunately, contact with Europe and the natural intercourse with the neighboring state of Russia are gradually destroying these beautiful arts and crafts which have been preserved here from earlier times" (Le Coq, Albert von, Buried Treasures of Eastern Turkestan, p. 41). Most of the various forms of art and intellectual expression of the people of Sinkiang are today in a state of decline. The contact with industrialized Russia and the intellectual atmosphere created by the Communist regime have produced unfavorable circumstances for the further development of the Eastern Turki artistic and intellectual expression. The important works of art are to be found in the already accumulated artistic creations.

B. Turkic Literature and Oral Art

563 538 The literary heritage of Eastern Turkestan is not limited alone to the works produced in this geographical area, but encompasses also much of the Turkic literature produced in other parts of Inner Asia as well as much of the Islamic literature. Little of the Eastern Turki literature is completely original and particular to this area alone; most of it being the common heritage of the Turks as a whole and some of it common to the other believers in Islam.

[175] The earliest important literary achievements known to us in Eastern Turkestan were written in the Uighur language and date back to pre-Islamic times. These literary documents are re-

563 538 175 ligious in character and testify to the strength and popularity of Manichaen doctrines among the Uighurs. The most famous of these religious documents is Khoustuanit, noted in particular for its linguistic purity.

[197] [177] In the eleventh century, two new religious trends made an impression upon the Uighurs—Nestorian Christianity and Buddhism. The existence of both these religions and their influence upon the Uighurs is confirmed by a few religious texts found in the area which date back to that period. These religious texts seem to be mainly translated works rather than original creations.

There were scarcely any secular documents found in Uighur. However, there is one noted secular work which was written toward the end of the eleventh century—the Kudatku Bilik. This work was written by Yusuf from Balasagun, then serving in the court of Boghra Khan. The work is concerned with the secular ruler, the nature of his office and his duties to those governed by him. It gives many historical details about the court life at the time and the political and social life of the Uighurs. Contrary to the religious Uighur documents, which do not show Islamic influence, this work was obviously written under the influence of Islamic and Arabic culture. Greek ideas, which were adopted by the Islamic culture, appear in this work. Thus knowledge and science are put above material gains and glory as the important possessions in life.

[156] Strong remnants of Shamanism are also evident, side by side with the Islamic ideas.

After the eleventh century, we find no more Uighur documents of literary value.

Turkic Chagatai literature is a product mostly of the Timurid age after the Mongol conquest of Turkestan. The main representatives of the Chagatai literature are Mir Ali Shir Nevayi in poetry and the Emperor Babur in prose. Mir Ali Shir Nevayi lived in the fifteenth century and served in the court of Hussein Baikara. He mastered both the Chagatai and Persian languages and wrote in both. He introduced many Persian stylistic devices into the Chagatai verse. Nevayi gained wide recognition for his creativity and leadership in the field of Chagatai poetry. The Emperor Babur, who lived only forty years after Nevayi, wrote:

"Ali Shir Beg was celebrated for the elegance of his manners, and this elegance and polish were ascribed to the conscious pride of high fortune; but this was not the case—they were natural to him, and he had precisely the same manner when he was in misfortune in Samarkand. Indeed, Ali Shir Beg was an incomparable person. From the time that poetry was first written in the Turkish language, no man has written so much and so well. Some of his Persian verses are not bad, but

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
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563 538 195 the greater part are heavy and poor. He has also left excellent pieces of music, excellent both as to the airs themselves and as to the preludes. There is not upon record in history any man who was a greater patron and protector of men of talent than Ali Shir Beg. He had no son, nor daughter, nor wife, nor family. He passed through the world single and unencumbered, and in the end, victim of a sudden stroke, he departed to the mercy of God." (Sir Olaf Caroe, Russian Empire, p. 219.)

The Chagatai language, being mainly the language of the court, was finally replaced by the Persian language, nd the use of Chagatai as well as literary production in this language came to an end.

563 538 195 193 Both the early Uighur and Chagatai literatures were the product of the sedentary population of Turkestan. The bulk of literature, however, is to be found in the oral literature which originated with the nomadic Turks. Proverbs, ballads, epic narratives, legendary tales and songs, form the body of this oral heritage. These proverbs, songs and stories are transmitted orally from generation to generation and are mostly carried by the beggars, wandering minstrels, story-tellers and professional musicians.

The popular proverbs among the Turkic people relate much about the customs prevailing among them, their beliefs and attitudes. Here are some examples of these proverbs:

[539] "The eagle has his wings, the man his horse."

"The cock tells you the time, the donkey tells you where your halting place is."

"The girl whom her father does not want to give in marriage is priced high."

"When the camel's stomach is empty, he stretches down his neck even to the thorn-bush."

"Those who never even rode a donkey's foal, now ride yearling horses; those who never even drank barley gruel now drink tea."

[177] The influence of the Persian culture is strongly evident in the popular proverb, and one finds many proverbs identical in both languages.

563 538 The art of story-telling is very popular in Eastern Turkestan. Many of the folk tales belong to the general Turkic and some to the Persian story cycles. An example of such tales is the story of Hamra, recorded by the Russian scholar Radlow, the theme of which is taken from a popular Inner Asian written tale by the same name about the love of two supernatural beings for a young man. Many of the romantic tales of the fifteenth century poet, Ali Shir Nevayi, are in the repertoire of the story-tellers. These folk tales are full of fantastic and supernatural elements, and the Persian influence is easily recognized. These

563 tales, although predominantly Moslem in character, have many
538 elements of the older beliefs in them too.

Many of the folk tales originated from the old epic tradition of the nomadic Turks. The change from nomadic to settled life, the introduction of elements foreign to the Turks, and most of all, the conversion to Islam, have left a considerable impression on the epic tradition and change the character of what was essentially an expression of a nomadic culture.

563 The song is a very important part of the Eastern Turki cul-
533 tural and social life. It does not, however, play so integral a part of life as with the Turks, among whom the song literally lives with the people and describes every aspect of their lives.
[177] Here, again, both the sedentary life and foreign elements, mainly Persian, have exercised their influence. The Eastern Turki songs are considerably more individualistic than those of the nomads. The tone of the songs is lyrical and highly personal, with scarcely any of the strength and enthusiasm of the songs of the nomads. Themes concerning love, individual fortunes and misfortunes, and different moods constitute the subject matter. The following are examples of the Eastern Turki
[539] songs (recorded by C.P.Skrine):

"If my father ask you, if my mother ask you,
Say, 'He is distraught.'
Say, 'His heart is sorrowful, his eyes are full of tears.'
Say he weeps for you."

"My horse is gone from before me
My whip is no more at my side.
Even though this may be my native land
Poverty is come upon me."

"So great is my love for my dear one
Even though I planted it, it could grow no taller.
So fair is the river of my tears,
If I watered my horse from it, he would never be satisfied."

Besides these lyrical songs, strongly influenced by the Persian tradition, there is a small group of songs which still carry the influence of the epic tradition and are partly concerned with the past of the people. These songs are called kuchuk by the Eastern Turks; they are ballads or short epics, and they come closest to the epic tradition of the past. Many stylistic devices are reminiscent of the epic tradition, such as repitition of key phrases, and strongly rhythmic verse. The epic themes, however, are usually absent. Some of the ballads are comic in
[539] character. C.P. Skrine brings an example of a kuchuk, The Sad Story of Mulla Tokhta and the Farthing's Worth of Tripe

(p. 211):

563 533 539
"Brother Mulla Tokhta, head man of our village
Swagged into market as if he were the mayor.
He hired himself a donkey
And bought a rope for a half penny
And a piece of tripe for a farthing
And hung the tripe from the donkey's neck.
The donkey promptly bolted
And kicked the byjar in the stomach.
Mulla Tokhta walked home with the tripe,
Took his knife without a handle and cut it up,
Took his spoon without a handle and stirred it,
Said, 'Let's have a feed,' and was just sitting down
When in burst six policemen,
Ate up all the tripe and went away."

563 538 The Russians have done considerable study in Taranchi literature and oral tradition because of their access to the area. In addition to the Eastern Turki tradition, the Taranchi texts include the oral art which sprang up in the area since the settling of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley. The most common themes are concerned with the oppression of the Taranchis in the Ili Valley and complaints against the Chinese.

The nomadic tradition is kept in Eastern Turkestan by the Kirghiz and Kazakhs, the majority of whom are still nomads. [101] They belong culturally to the Kirghiz and Kazakhs in Western Turkestan, and have no distinguishing features.

563 533 538 Music, folklore and epic poetry constitute the bulk of the Kazakh and Kirghiz cultural heritage. Because of the way of life and strong clan ties, their folk art is primarily social in character, concerned with problems common to clans and tribes and not so much with the fate of the individual.

Story and music accompany every phase of their life, and all the important occasions in life are expressed in special songs. A Kazakh writer, Abai Kubanco, wrote the following about the [539] importance of the song in the life of the nomadic Turk:

"The song will open the door of the world for you
The song will open the door of death for you
Listen to it, Kazakh, and follow its wisdom
The song travels with you all your life." (from K. Menges' article in Pivot of Asia.)

563 538 Tales and legends also play an important part in the life of the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs. There are many tales of mystery, magic, animal tales and tales about battles and struggles for good pasture land.

The heroic epos is still alive among these nomadic people, and it usually tells of historical events concerning the glory of

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563 538 the Kazakh Khanate, its disintegration, and the struggles against other national groups. The epos is carried from generation to generation orally, mostly by the traveling bards.

The Kirghiz have recently collected many of their epic poems to constitute a huge national epos. The most popular epos in this collection is Manas, which is primarily concerned with the struggle of the Kirghiz against the Kalmuks in the seventeenth century. It has strong Moslem elements, and the struggle for freedom is depicted largely as a religious battle between the believers and the infidels.

563 538 177 668 C. Novel and Drama under the Communists

The Western forms of the novel and drama have been introduced to Sinkiang since the Communist conquest. The new fiction produced and published in the area does not differ much from that of China proper, except in such minor details as place names or names of persons. The literature at the present time follows the definite "party lines" decided upon in Peking. It attacks all ideas which are foreign to the party ideology, and familiarizes the readers with the new concepts of Communist ideology. The tasks set for the cultural work in Peking are as follows: ". . . to develop positively the struggle against the mistaken thought of the bourgeoisie on the cultural front, to reorganize systematically the ranks of the cultural workers, to strengthen the study of political and art theories, to elevate the ideological and art levels of the cultural workers, to develop creation further. . . to penetrate deep into the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and to bring about the vigorous, over-all and penetrative implementation of the line of simplicity and economy so that cultural work may be made to give better service to the Socialist construction and transformation of the country." (Jen-min jih-pao, March 27, 1955.)

The content and style of literary works follows definite trends established in Moscow and copied by Peking. It is not what is known as "art for art's sake," but the literary expression and creativity are diverted to definite purposes decided upon by the Party. Writers are not free to express what they feel or believe; their subjects are chosen for them, and they must follow patterns set by the Party. "Books on art and literature, as well as literary works, have been translated into minority languages to guide the creative efforts of the numerous minority artists." (China Monthly Review, February, 1952, p. 193). There is no doubt that literary expression has been reduced to mere propaganda. The literature is far from being the true folk art of the people of Sinkiang; it is being written by expert propagandists, familiar with all the current party lines.

Many of the books designed for reading by the masses are

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563 538 177 668 [214] produced in Peking. A report from Peking on January 3, 1955, states that "some 200 books in more than 1.64 million copies were put out in 1954 in Peking in the languages of the minority peoples. They were published by the Nationality Publishing House for use among the Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh and Korean peoples. These books include works on revolutionary theory, novels, and translations of Soviet literature. This total does not include books published by the many printing houses of the various minority areas." (Peking, NCNA, January 5, 1955, 1607 GMT-W.)

175 532 D. Artistic Expression

The period prior to the introduction of Islam produced the great works of art in Eastern Turkestan. The Shamanistic, Buddhist and Nestorian civilizations which were dominant in Eastern Turkestan in this period encouraged the religious expression through the mediums of painting and sculpture.

175 532 172 Late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth century, European scholars went to Eastern Turkestan to explore the ruined cities which had long been buried under the sands, and which contained many of the pre-Islamic artistic treasures. It is through the efforts of these scholars that we have most of our present information on the subject. Among the best known of these explorers, who carried out extensive expeditions in Sinkiang, were Sir Aurel Stein, Professor Albert Grünwedel and Albert von le Coq of the National Ethnological Museum in Berlin and Paul Pelliot.

[648] Although the Chinese Government was quite tolerant at first and allowed these archaeological works and expeditions to take place, it later became concerned with the fact that so many cases full of artistic treasures were being shipped out of the country. From then on, the Chinese Government tried to put as many official difficulties in the way of these explorers as they could, and discouraged further efforts in this direction.

532 172 The important artistic discoveries were made at the following sites: near Khotan, the past capital of an ancient kingdom, at the oasis of Dandan Oilik, and at Rawak where a Buddhist shrine was found, and also in the twin oases of Turfan and Karakhoja, which proved to be extremely rich in artistic remains.

Most of the remaining structures which were fully or partially preserved are of an obviously religious character. They are usually shrines, temples, burial monuments, or various parts of monastic establishments. Most of them are products of Buddhist religious expression. Some buildings display the remains of Nestorian Christian and Manichaean murals. Manu-

[538] scripts were discovered in these sites which confirmed the simultaneous existence of these religions in the area for several centuries.